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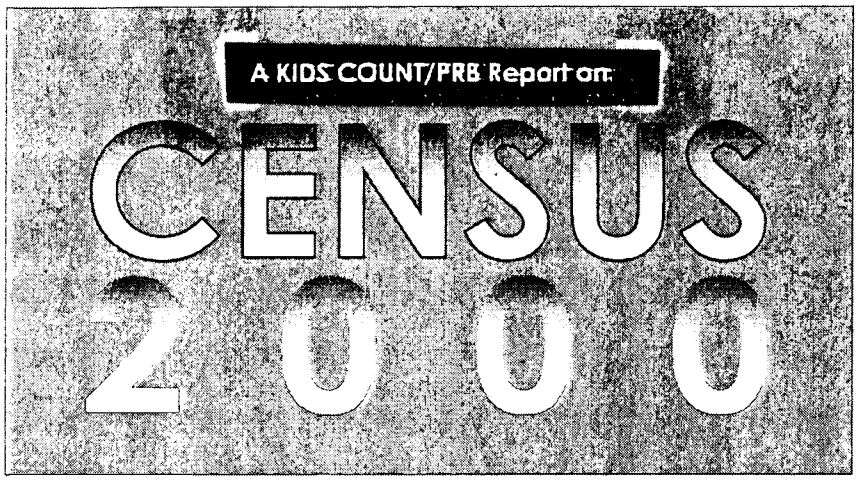
ABSTRACT

Between 1990-2000, there was a decrease in the number of children living in high-poverty neighborhoods, but the picture provided by the decrease in poverty levels alone is incomplete and potentially misleading. Using a more comprehensive measure of neighborhood quality, researchers found that the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased significantly between 1990-2000. Severely distressed neighborhoods are defined as census tracts with at lest three of the four following characteristics: high poverty rate (27.4 percent or more); high percentage of female-headed families (37.1 percent or more); high percentage of high school dropouts (23.0 percent or more); and high percentage of working-age males unattached to the labor force (34.0 percent or more). Despite the booming economy of the 1990s, the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased from 3.4 million in 1990 to 4.4 million in 2000. The number of adults living in such neighborhoods also increased, from 7.7 million to 10 million during the 1990s. Of the 4.4 million children growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods, 54 percent are black, and 30 percent are Hispanic. Almost a quarter of all black children, and more than 1 in 10 Hispanic children, live in severely distressed neighborhoods, compared with 1 percent of non-Hispanic white children. (SM)



The Growing Number of Kids in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods: Evidence from the 2000 Census

By William O'Hare and Mark Mather

The Annie E. Casey Foundation and
the Population Reference Bureau
September 2003

KIDS COUNT

KIDS COUNT, a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, is a national and state-by-state effort to track the status of children in the United States. By providing policymakers and citizens with benchmarks of child well-being, KIDS COUNT seeks to enrich local, state, and national discussions concerning ways to secure better futures for all children. At the national level, the principal activity of the initiative is the publication of the annual *KIDS COUNT Data Book*, which uses the best available data to measure the educational, social, economic, and physical well-being of children. The Foundation also funds a nationwide network of state-level KIDS COUNT projects that provide a more detailed community-by-community picture of the condition of children.

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KIDS COUNT/PRB Reports on Census 2000

This paper is part of a series of reports on the 2000 Census prepared for the nationwide network of KIDS COUNT projects. These reports have been guided by the recommendations of an expert advisory group of data users and child advocates brought together in a series of meetings by the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Population Reference Bureau. Members of the advisory group have provided valuable assistance about how to interpret and use data from the 2000 Census.

A list of the advisory group members can be found at the back of this report.

For more information or for a pdf version of this report, visit the Annie E. Casey Foundation's KIDS COUNT website at www.kidscount.org or PRB's AmeriStat website at www.ameristat.org.

Executive Summary

Between 1990 and 2000, there was a decrease in the number of children living in high-poverty neighborhoods, but the picture provided by the decrease in poverty levels alone is incomplete and potentially misleading. Using a more comprehensive measure of neighborhood quality, we found that the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased significantly between 1990 and 2000.

Severely distressed neighborhoods are defined here as census tracts with at least three of the four following characteristics:

1. High poverty rate (27.4 percent or more);
2. High percentage of female-headed families (37.1 percent or more);
3. High percentage of high school dropouts (23.0 percent or more); and
4. High percentage of working-age males unattached to the labor force (34.0 percent or more).

Despite the booming economy of the 1990s, the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased from 3.4 million in 1990 to 4.4 million in 2000 (a 32 percent change). The number of adults living in such neighborhoods also increased, from 7.7 million to 10.0 million (31 percent) during the 1990s.

Of the 4.4 million children growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods, 54 percent are black and 30 percent are Hispanic. Almost a quarter of all black children (22 percent) live in severely distressed neighborhoods, and more than one in 10 Hispanic children (11 percent) live in severely distressed neighborhoods, compared with 1 percent of non-Hispanic white children.

The increase in children living in severely distressed neighborhoods during the 1990s is a cause for concern because neighborhoods influence many important outcomes for children. The high concentration of black and Hispanic children in disadvantaged neighborhoods indicates that a significant segment of our most vulnerable children are not likely to get the kinds of supports they need to thrive.

Introduction

One of the most important decisions parents make is where to live. The neighborhood in which a child lives determines his or her choice of peers and playmates; the quality of schools; and the availability of amenities such as parks, playgrounds, and libraries. In addition, neighborhoods often determine the type of child-care services available, the level of personal safety, and the availability of jobs. The neighborhood has a major impact on the role models a child sees on a regular basis. Neighborhood norms can help launch a child toward college and a stable work life, or increase the likelihood that he or she will commit a crime or become a teenage parent. This common-sense understanding is also reflected in empirical studies that show the importance of neighborhoods in shaping children's lives.[1]

It is important, therefore, to understand how many children are growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods, the characteristics of children growing up in these neighborhoods, and whether the number of children in these communities is growing or shrinking.

Poverty Rates in Neighborhoods

One key indicator of neighborhood quality is the poverty level. There is no single threshold that has been established to define high-poverty neighborhoods, but typically researchers use one of three different thresholds. The U.S. Census Bureau labels neighborhoods (census tracts) with poverty rates of 20 percent or more as "Poverty Areas."[2] About 21 percent of American neighborhoods have poverty rates of 20 percent or more. However, scholars and researchers commonly use thresholds of 30 percent or 40 percent to define high-poverty neighborhoods.[3] Nearly 10 percent of neighborhoods have poverty rates of 30 percent or more, and just under 4 percent of neighborhoods have poverty rates of at least 40 percent. In this analysis, we define

neighborhoods with poverty rates of 30 percent or more as "high poverty," and neighborhoods with poverty rates of 40 percent or more as "extremely high" poverty.

While there was clearly an increase in concentrated poverty during the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s saw a reversal of that trend. Recent reports by Jargowsky[4] as well as Kingsley and Pettit,[5] based on 2000 Census results, show that the total population in high-poverty (above 30 percent) and extremely-high-poverty (above 40 percent) neighborhoods declined between 1990 and 2000. But post-2000 reports have not examined trends for children.

Table 1
Changes Between 1990 and 2000 in the Number of Children and Adults, by Neighborhood Poverty Rate

Neighborhood poverty rate	Children living in high-poverty neighborhoods		Change 1990 to 2000	
	1990 (thousands)	2000 (thousands)	(thousands)	Percent change
20% or more	14,643	14,747	104	0.7
30% or more	6,986	6,301	-685	-9.8
40% or more	3,170	2,336	-834	-26.3

Neighborhood poverty rate	Adults living in high-poverty neighborhoods		Change 1990 to 2000	
	1990 (thousands)	2000 (thousands)	(thousands)	Percent change
20% or more	36,713	37,106	393	1.1
30% or more	16,341	14,860	-1,481	-9.1
40% or more	7,211	5,611	-1,600	-22.2

Note: Children are defined as persons under age 18 and adults are defined as persons age 18 and over.
Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

Table 1 shows the trends for children and adults from 1990 to 2000 based on three different thresholds. For both children and adults, the number and share of the population living in high-poverty and extremely-high-poverty neighborhoods decreased between 1990 and 2000. In 2000, there were 2.3 million children living in neighborhoods where the poverty level was 40 percent or higher, compared with 3.2 million in these types of neighborhoods in 1990. The number of children

in high-poverty tracts (30 percent or higher) decreased by 9.8 percent. However, the number of children living in neighborhoods above 20 percent poverty—defined by the Census Bureau as poverty areas—showed little change between 1990 and 2000.

Characteristics of Severely Distressed Neighborhoods

Since poverty levels do not capture all of the important characteristics of neighborhoods, researchers have combined several measures of neighborhood quality to identify severely distressed neighborhoods.[6] High poverty rates and several other problematic characteristics—lack of employment, low educational attainment, and an over-representation of female-headed families—interact to produce an environment that is worse than any single measure might indicate. In other words, there is a compounding effect of these characteristics.

Research indicates that children growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods are less likely to perform well in school, are more susceptible to teenage pregnancy, and are less likely to make a smooth transition to the work force.[7] Children in these neighborhoods are especially vulnerable because there is often a dearth of strong community institutions or positive role models.

Building on the work of Ricketts and Sawhill,[8] the Casey Foundation[9] used data from the 1990 Census to identify "severely distressed neighborhoods," and determine the number and characteristics of kids who live there. The results were reported in the 1994 *KIDS COUNT* Data Book. The same approach is used here, with a slight modification, to identify the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000 and to look at trends during the 1990s.

There is one important change we had to make to the methodology used in the 1994 *KIDS COUNT* Data Book to identify severely distressed neighborhoods. High reliance on welfare was used as an indicator of distressed neighborhoods in our analysis of 1990 Census data, but is not used

in this analysis because the meaning of this measure changed between 1990 and 2000. Analysis of 1990 Census data included a high percentage of families receiving public assistance (above 17 percent) as a fifth criterion for identifying distressed neighborhoods. But the movement away from cash assistance in the Federal welfare reform legislation of 1996 means the census data for 2000 on receipt of public assistance income are not comparable with similar data from earlier censuses. There is also a technical reason related to how census data are reported that make the 1990 and 2000 data inconsistent.[10]

Neighborhoods characterized by high levels of poverty, high proportions of single-parent families, high dropout rates, and high male unemployment are unlikely to provide young people with the environment they need to mature into productive adults. Communities that exhibit all or most of these characteristics simultaneously are often in desperate need of assistance. These are the types of neighborhoods we identify as severely distressed neighborhoods. We deliberately add the word "severely" to our definition to emphasize that many neighborhoods that do not quite meet our definition are nonetheless places where children are unlikely to get the resources they need to thrive.

Defining Severely Distressed Neighborhoods

Severely distressed neighborhoods are defined here as census tracts with at least three of the four following characteristics:

1. High percentage of people living in poverty (27.4 percent or more)
2. High percentage of families with related children headed by women with no husband present (37.1 percent or more)
3. High percentage of 16-to-19-year-olds who are not enrolled in school and not high school graduates (23.0 percent or more)
4. High percentage of civilian, noninstitutionalized men ages 16 to 64 who are unemployed or not in the labor force (34.0 percent or more)

The cutoff points used here are one standard deviation above the mean census tract values in 1990, which are commonly used thresholds in this type of research:

	Mean	Standard deviation
Poverty	14.2	13.2
Female-headed families	21.6	15.6
High school dropouts	11.5	11.6
Men detached from labor force	21.8	12.2

We use the 1990 values to identify severely distressed neighborhoods in both 1990 and 2000 in order to compare the status of children in the same types of neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000. There were 4,248 census tracts identified as severely distressed in 2000, compared with 3,453 in 1990.

Compared with studies based on poverty rates alone, our examination of severely distressed neighborhoods tells a very different story about trends in neighborhood disadvantage during the 1990s. The decrease in children living in high-poverty neighborhoods indicates an improvement in one aspect of children's lives, but a more comprehensive measure of neighborhood disadvantage shows a deterioration of conditions for children during the 1990s.

Table 2 shows detailed data for each of the four criteria and census tracts in which at least three of the four criteria were met. Though the number and percentage of children in high-poverty and high-dropout tracts fell during the 1990s, the number and percentage of children living in tracts with high rates of female-headed households and males detached from the labor force both rose sharply.

Table 2

Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, 1990 and 2000

	1990		2000	
Indicator	**Number of children (thousands)**	**Percent**	**Number of children (thousands)**	**Percent**
Population under age 18	63,604	100.0	72,294	100.0
Poverty rate in neighborhood is 27.4% or more	8,423	13.2	8,026	11.1
Percentage of families with related children headed by females is 37.1% or more	7,892	12.4	10,644	14.7
Percentage of high school dropouts (ages 16-19) is 23.0% or more	7,965	12.5	7,267	10.1
Percentage of males 16-64 detached from the labor force is 34.0% or more	7,218	11.3	12,898	17.8
Neighborhoods with any three of the four characteristics	3,367	5.3	4,429	6.1

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

Table 3 shows that the number and percentage of children and adults living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased by nearly a third between 1990 and 2000. The number of

children living in severely distressed neighborhoods rose from 3.4 million in 1990 to 4.4 million in 2000, while the number of adults living in these neighborhoods rose from 7.7 million to 10.0 million during the same period.

Table 3

Children and Adults Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, 1990 and 2000

	1990		2000			
Population	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent	Change 1990 to 2000 (thousands)	Percent change
Total	11,051	4.4	14,460	5.1	3,409	30.8
Under age 18	3,367	5.3	4,429	6.1	1,061	31.5
Age 18 and over	7,684	4.2	10,032	4.8	2,348	30.6

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

Overall, children are more likely than adults to be living in a severely distressed neighborhood. In 2000, 6.1 percent of all children lived in severely distressed neighborhoods, compared with 4.8 percent of adults. The percentage of both children and adults living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased between 1990 and 2000.

The broad measure of neighborhood quality used in this study shows that there has been a significant increase in the number of children living in the kinds of neighborhoods where there is a dearth of married-couple families, good jobs, and neighborhood resources.

Geographic Distribution of Severely Distressed Neighborhoods

Severely distressed neighborhoods are heavily concentrated in metropolitan areas. Table 4 shows that 89 percent of all children living in severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000 lived in metropolitan areas. In percentage terms, 6.6 percent of children living in metropolitan areas lived in a severely distressed neighborhood, compared with 3.9 percent in micropolitan areas and 4.2 percent in rural areas. Many of the severely distressed neighborhoods outside of

metropolitan areas are located in the rural South, but there are pockets of distressed communities in other rural areas as well. Admittedly, the definition used here to identify severely distressed neighborhoods is based on a stream of urban-focused research and may not be the best way to identify needy areas in rural America. Indeed, the whole concept of a "neighborhood" may not have much applicability in rural America.

Table 4

Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by Metropolitan Area Status, 2000

Area	Total population (thousands)	Number of children (thousands)	Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods (thousands)	Percent
United States	281,422	72,294	4,429	6.1
Metropolitan areas	232,580	59,992	3,931	6.6
Micropolitan areas	28,955	7,287	287	3.9
Rural areas	19,887	5,015	211	4.2

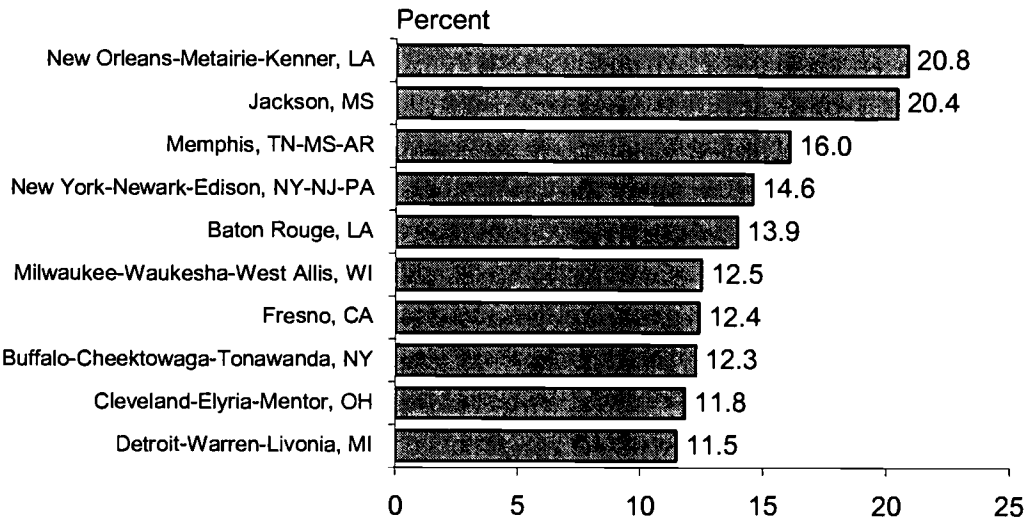
Note: Metropolitan area definitions are based on 2003 classifications by the Office of Management and Budget. Metropolitan areas consist of urban cores of at least 50,000 people, the counties in which they are located, and adjacent counties linked by commuting patterns. Micropolitan areas include counties containing smaller cities and their suburbs, and rural areas include all counties outside of metropolitan and micropolitan areas.

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas, the proportion of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000 was highest in the New Orleans (21 percent), Jackson, Miss. (20 percent), Memphis, Tenn. (16 percent), and New York (15 percent) metropolitan areas (see Figure 1). Colorado Springs, Colo., San Jose, Calif., and Santa Rosa, Calif., were the only large metro areas without any severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000. A metropolitan area consists of an urban core of at least 50,000 people, the county in which it is located, and adjacent counties linked by commuting patterns. Data for all of the 100 largest metropolitan areas are shown in Appendix 1.

Figure 1

Large Metropolitan Areas with the Highest Share of Kids in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, 2000



Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

At the state level (see Appendix 2), Mississippi had the highest proportion of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods (19 percent), followed by Louisiana (18 percent), New York (14 percent), and Alabama (11 percent). In terms of numbers of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods, New York (676,000) had the most, followed by California (605,000) and Texas (346,000). There were two states—Idaho and Vermont—without any severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000. The share of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased during the 1990s in 34 states and in the District of Columbia.

Severely Distressed Neighborhoods and Race

As might be expected given the high level of residential segregation in the United States and the disadvantaged position of blacks and Hispanics, minority children constitute the overwhelming majority of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods of our country. Table 5 shows the

distribution of black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic white children in severely distressed neighborhoods.

Table 5
Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2000

Race and Hispanic Origin	Total number of children (thousands)	Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods (thousands)	Percent
Total	72,294	4,429	6.1
Black	10,886	2,410	22.1
Hispanic	12,342	1,320	10.7
Non-Hispanic white	44,027	490	1.1

Note: Data for blacks and non-Hispanic whites do not include persons who selected more than one race.
Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

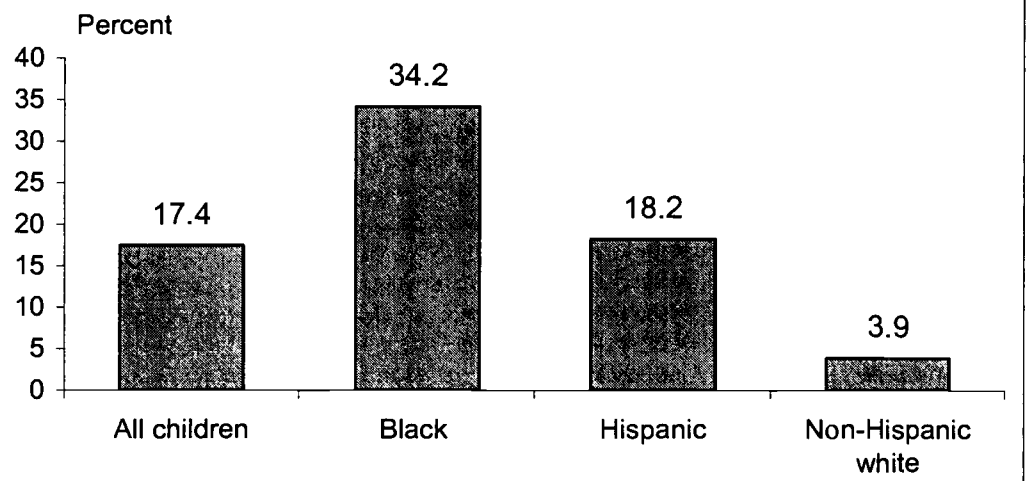
Black and Hispanic children together account for about one-third of all children in the United States, but they make up more than three-fourths of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods. Black children are 20 times as likely as non-Hispanic white children to live in a severely distressed neighborhood, and Hispanic children are about 10 times as likely as non-Hispanic white children to live in a severely distressed neighborhood.

Concentration of Poor Children in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods

All children living in severely distressed neighborhoods face high risks, but children growing up in impoverished families and surrounded by institutions under stress face particularly high odds. During the 1990s, there was a growing concentration of poor children in severely distressed neighborhoods. In 1990, 15.6 percent of all poor children lived in severely distressed neighborhoods, but by 2000 the figure had risen to 17.4 percent. Of the 4.4 million children living in severely distressed neighborhoods in 2000, 2.0 million were also poor, giving these neighborhoods a child poverty rate of 45 percent.

For black and Hispanic children, the concentration of child poverty in severely distressed neighborhoods is truly staggering. In 2000, over one-third (34.2 percent) of all poor black children resided in a severely distressed neighborhood (see Figure 2). The figure compares with 18.2 percent for Latino children and 3.9 percent for non-Hispanic white children.

Figure 2
Poor Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by Race and Ethnicity, 2000



Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

The large numbers of poor, minority children isolated in severely distressed neighborhoods reflect an enormous gap between mainstream society and a significant segment of the minority community. Attempts to close this gap between minority and majority populations in terms of income, education, and other socioeconomic measures must overcome the barriers that minority kids accumulate by growing up in distressed communities.

Conclusion

It is clear that the number of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods increased during the 1990s, indicating that the benefits of the booming economy did not accrue to everyone. Some neighborhoods were left behind or overlooked.

It can be argued that neighborhood conditions have more severe and lasting impacts on children than on adults or the elderly. Children growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods are likely to spend their formative years without the supports and resources they need, often lured into the kinds of behavior that will lead them nowhere. Yet too often children are overlooked completely, or are simply an afterthought, in this type of research. The numbers presented here should stimulate further research and discussion about what can be done to improve the lives of our most vulnerable citizens, children growing up in severely distressed neighborhoods.

Appendix 1

Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by Metropolitan Area, 2000

Rank (2000 pop)	Metropolitan area	Total population in 2000	Number of children	Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods	Percent
1	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	18,323,002	4,514,604	657,089	14.6
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,365,627	3,436,395	345,072	10.0
3	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,098,316	2,447,345	203,447	8.3
4	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,687,147	1,443,301	154,189	10.7
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	5,161,544	1,450,711	57,913	4.0
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	5,007,564	1,182,600	95,965	8.1
7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4,796,183	1,213,021	42,696	3.5
8	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	4,715,407	1,367,993	99,724	7.3
9	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	4,452,557	1,181,921	135,495	11.5
10	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4,391,344	1,029,450	39,629	3.8
11	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	4,247,981	1,131,056	39,885	3.5
12	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,123,740	931,453	28,911	3.1
13	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	3,254,821	1,020,738	47,143	4.6
14	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	3,251,876	873,084	42,288	4.8
15	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3,043,878	747,354	9,233	1.2
16	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	2,968,806	793,402	25,563	3.2
17	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2,813,833	723,661	31,822	4.4
18	St. Louis, MO-IL	2,698,687	707,411	43,743	6.2
19	Baltimore-Towson, MD	2,552,994	646,004	42,721	6.6
20	Pittsburgh, PA	2,431,087	541,621	21,605	4.0
21	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,395,997	524,911	29,367	5.6
22	Denver-Aurora, CO	2,157,756	557,569	13,808	2.5
23	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	2,148,143	544,890	64,283	11.8
24	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	2,009,632	532,241	14,388	2.7
25	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	1,927,881	491,742	5,825	1.2
26	Kansas City, MO-KS	1,836,038	488,219	24,388	5.0
27	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	1,796,857	486,631	15,163	3.1
28	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,735,819	433,545	0	0.0
29	San Antonio, TX	1,711,703	485,622	29,260	6.0
30	Orlando, FL	1,644,561	407,879	10,718	2.6
31	Columbus, OH	1,612,694	412,742	17,202	4.2
32	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	1,582,997	379,540	30,378	8.0
33	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,576,370	415,817	27,509	6.6
34	Indianapolis, IN	1,525,104	407,978	9,425	2.3
35	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	1,500,741	395,989	49,372	12.5
36	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,375,765	351,770	23,702	6.7
37	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	1,330,448	339,321	13,008	3.8
38	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	1,316,510	351,833	73,286	20.8
39	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro, TN	1,311,789	325,902	9,554	2.9
40	Austin-Round Rock, TX	1,249,763	317,022	10,657	3.4
41	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,205,204	340,801	54,679	16.0
42	Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Tonawanda, NY	1,170,111	284,787	34,889	12.3
43	Louisville, KY-IN	1,161,975	291,079	13,024	4.5
44	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1,148,618	278,332	15,227	5.5
45	Jacksonville, FL	1,122,750	293,332	11,396	3.9
46	Richmond, VA	1,096,957	275,224	14,551	5.3
47	Oklahoma City, OK	1,095,421	281,536	17,442	6.2
48	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1,052,238	263,312	23,506	8.9
49	Rochester, NY	1,037,831	266,068	23,232	8.7
50	Salt Lake City, UT	968,858	296,699	392	0.1

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

Appendix 1 (Continued)

Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by Metropolitan Area, 2000

Rank (2000 pop)	Metropolitan area	Total population in 2000	Number of children	Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods	Percent
51	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	882,567	226,214	7,226	3.2
52	Honolulu, HI	876,156	208,758	3,764	1.8
53	Tulsa, OK	859,532	229,594	13,387	5.8
54	Dayton, OH	848,153	210,003	12,607	6.0
55	Tucson, AZ	843,746	207,896	17,736	8.5
56	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	825,875	196,928	8,790	4.5
57	New Haven-Milford, CT	824,008	201,679	13,806	6.8
58	Fresno, CA	799,407	256,425	31,738	12.4
59	Raleigh-Cary, NC	797,071	201,379	4,828	2.4
60	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	767,041	208,811	9,171	4.4
61	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	753,197	214,244	576	0.3
62	Worcester, MA	750,963	192,448	13,383	7.0
63	Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	740,482	208,179	6,787	3.3
64	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	740,395	176,670	8,275	4.7
65	Albuquerque, NM	729,649	192,681	7,766	4.0
66	Baton Rouge, LA	705,973	190,797	26,612	13.9
67	Akron, OH	694,960	172,095	9,079	5.3
68	Springfield, MA	680,014	165,496	14,785	8.9
69	El Paso, TX	679,622	217,423	24,252	11.2
70	Bakersfield, CA	661,645	211,379	22,756	10.8
71	Toledo, OH	659,188	169,598	13,724	8.1
72	Syracuse, NY	650,154	168,136	12,210	7.3
73	Columbia, SC	647,158	162,384	7,101	4.4
74	Greensboro-High Point, NC	643,430	153,917	12,488	8.1
75	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	621,517	169,424	4,446	2.6
76	Knoxville, TN	616,079	138,894	7,867	5.7
77	Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	610,518	156,534	10,515	6.7
78	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	602,964	144,153	13,959	9.7
79	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	589,959	107,474	9,477	8.8
80	Wichita, KS	571,166	160,530	5,444	3.4
81	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	569,463	201,002	14,683	7.3
82	Stockton, CA	563,598	174,569	13,095	7.5
83	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	560,625	120,657	1,937	1.6
84	Greenville, SC	559,940	135,663	1,607	1.2
85	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	549,033	141,342	11,341	8.0
86	Colorado Springs, CO	537,484	147,802	0	0.0
87	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	509,074	119,228	1,646	1.4
88	Madison, WI	501,774	115,647	1,874	1.6
89	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	499,684	136,187	10,020	7.4
90	Jackson, MS	497,197	136,782	27,930	20.4
91	Portland-South Portland, ME	487,568	117,309	991	0.8
92	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	483,924	118,205	4,593	3.9
93	Des Moines, IA	481,394	125,249	2,183	1.7
94	Chattanooga, TN-GA	476,531	113,313	6,101	5.4
95	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	476,230	104,699	2,886	2.8
96	Lancaster, PA	470,658	125,291	2,027	1.6
97	Boise City-Nampa, ID	464,840	132,168	92	0.1
98	Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA	458,614	112,155	0	0.0
99	Lansing-East Lansing, MI	447,728	110,643	1,069	1.0
100	Modesto, CA	446,997	139,222	7,311	5.3

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 2000 Census.

Appendix 2

Children Living in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods, by State, 1990 and 2000

State	1990 Number of children	1990 Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods	1990 Percent	2000 Number of children	2000 Children living in severely distressed neighborhoods	2000 Percent
United States	63,604,432	3,367,360	5.3	72,293,812	4,428,652	6.1
Alabama	1,058,788	108,248	10.2	1,123,422	119,603	10.6
Alaska	172,344	910	0.5	190,717	1,669	0.9
Arizona	981,119	47,216	4.8	1,366,947	81,634	6.0
Arkansas	621,131	45,058	7.3	680,369	62,445	9.2
California	7,750,725	315,213	4.1	9,249,829	604,527	6.5
Colorado	861,266	21,246	2.5	1,100,795	21,591	2.0
Connecticut	749,581	33,016	4.4	841,688	38,478	4.6
Delaware	163,341	4,668	2.9	194,587	3,390	1.7
District of Columbia	117,092	18,782	16.0	114,992	42,696	37.1
Florida	2,866,237	145,972	5.1	3,646,340	212,576	5.8
Georgia	1,727,303	94,774	5.5	2,169,234	116,012	5.3
Hawaii	280,126	1,646	0.6	295,767	4,574	1.5
Idaho	308,405	1,135	0.4	369,030	92	0.0
Illinois	2,946,366	205,015	7.0	3,245,451	227,523	7.0
Indiana	1,455,964	53,703	3.7	1,574,396	44,153	2.8
Iowa	718,880	10,370	1.4	733,638	7,714	1.1
Kansas	661,614	11,231	1.7	712,993	17,643	2.5
Kentucky	954,094	84,241	8.8	994,818	46,875	4.7
Louisiana	1,227,269	211,087	17.2	1,219,799	218,354	17.9
Maine	309,002	2,160	0.7	301,238	1,813	0.6
Maryland	1,162,241	34,448	3.0	1,356,172	47,205	3.5
Massachusetts	1,353,075	42,541	3.1	1,500,064	73,932	4.9
Michigan	2,458,765	222,446	9.0	2,595,767	183,890	7.1
Minnesota	1,166,783	22,366	1.9	1,286,894	26,633	2.1
Mississippi	746,761	129,647	17.4	775,187	145,304	18.7
Missouri	1,314,826	60,675	4.6	1,427,692	66,404	4.7
Montana	222,104	6,802	3.1	230,062	4,833	2.1
Nebraska	429,012	6,354	1.5	450,242	11,555	2.6
Nevada	296,948	8,894	3.0	511,799	24,021	4.7
New Hampshire	278,755	0	0.0	309,562	512	0.2
New Jersey	1,799,462	62,443	3.5	2,087,558	98,237	4.7
New Mexico	446,741	18,133	4.1	508,574	25,239	5.0
New York	4,259,549	426,626	10.0	4,690,107	675,679	14.4
North Carolina	1,606,149	48,455	3.0	1,964,047	84,850	4.3
North Dakota	175,385	1,938	1.1	160,849	5,772	3.6
Ohio	2,799,744	181,845	6.5	2,888,339	151,984	5.3
Oklahoma	837,007	30,440	3.6	892,360	40,211	4.5
Oregon	724,130	8,552	1.2	846,526	11,840	1.4
Pennsylvania	2,794,810	138,815	5.0	2,922,221	200,308	6.9
Rhode Island	225,690	8,714	3.9	247,822	24,243	9.8
South Carolina	920,207	37,224	4.0	1,009,641	59,600	5.9
South Dakota	198,462	1,985	1.0	202,649	12,569	6.2
Tennessee	1,216,604	66,199	5.4	1,398,521	77,948	5.6
Texas	4,835,839	240,959	5.0	5,886,759	345,565	5.9
Utah	627,444	3,255	0.5	718,698	1,488	0.2
Vermont	143,083	910	0.6	147,523	0	0.0
Virginia	1,504,738	40,531	2.7	1,738,262	52,070	3.0
Washington	1,261,387	28,394	2.3	1,513,843	30,807	2.0
West Virginia	443,577	15,158	3.4	402,393	14,051	3.5
Wisconsin	1,288,982	56,201	4.4	1,368,756	56,442	4.1
Wyoming	135,525	711	0.5	128,873	2,098	1.6

Source: Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

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[10] In the 1990 Census STF3 data file, public assistance income was reported for households receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and/or Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In the 2000 SF3 data file, the number of households receiving SSI and Public Assistance income was reported in separate tables, but it was unclear how many households received both. Therefore, it is not possible to produce an unduplicated count of households receiving public assistance in each census tract.

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